The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al dozeno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que quiere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado.

Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Cap. 12
Teutl eco

A los quinze dias deste mes: los moços y muchachos, enramauan todos los altares y oratorios de los dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de las casas como por los camjnos y encruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan vn chiquivitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros dos o tres maçorcas.

A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios (que siempre es mancebo que le llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titlacauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua primero: luego ofreciã comjda en su cu, y aquella noche comjan y beujan y regozijauãse todos: especialmente los viejos, y viejos que beujan vino, por la llegada del dios: y dezian que lo lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada.

En vinjendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio anni Michael.*

which they then used.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origánum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauhelxochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *escobedia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Jnic cēpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanalizttli: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in motenecoaia Tlaxuchimaco.

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: motenecoa tlaxuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl:

viptlatica in xuchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixqujch xuchitl, in nepapan xuchitl, in tepepan xuchitl, yn acocosuchitl, vitzitzillacuxuchitl, tepecempoalxuchitl, nextamalxuchitl, tlacoxuchitl, ocelxuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocusuchitl, anoço aocusuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iollosuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalxuchitl, acasuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolxuchitl.

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaaxitico xuchitl, yn oaxioaco, yn otlatujc, njmā ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoa: auh yn omoçoçoc, xuchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic.

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn ixqujch maceoalli cenuetzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujtla totolti, yoā in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoa, techichinolo, in monequizque ioeztzico:

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yilhujnemoa, iuhqujn tlatlaciuj, netetequjpacholo, injc tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in itloantin teupixque, njman ie ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujxuchicuzcatia, conicpaxuchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtetecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in ixqujch

1. Cf. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 38): "*Miccailhuitzintli, Tlaxochimaco. El primero era nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. . . . El nombre mexicano es Tlaxochmaco, palabra que Torquemada interpreta, cuando con dudas y reparos: tiempo en que florecen las flores; mientras Veytia dice, entra de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, consagrada á Huitzilopochtli, la estatua de éste y las demas diosas eran adornadas profusamente con flores. . . .*" Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 142-3) further writes: ". . . *adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, no solamente a los que se veneraban en los templos, sino tambien a los que tenian por devocion en sus casas; que por esto daban el mes el nombre de Tlaxochimaco.*"

2. See Robredo ed., Vol. II, pp. 273-6; Cf. also Moisi Sanders, *op. cit.*, passim, and Seler, Eduard, *Kopfaul*, p. 156 (where a few German equivalents are given): Some are described also in Nardo Antonio Recchi: *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1651).

X 796 **Thirty-first Chapter,** which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli; in muchioaia, in jpā vel ic cemjlhujtl, injc matlactetl om ume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

Injc matlactetl om ume ilhujtl: iehoatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound

in ie iuh tlamacujlti, njmā vncan vmpeoa in acxoiatemalo: in acxoiatl, iehoatl in acatl, ēci in qujlpiaia; çan iehoantin in telpopochtin qujtemaia, novian in momozco, in cioateucalco, yoan in novian techachan, in vncan pipielo in jmjxiptlaoan diablome:

[346] together. Only the young men laid them down, on every small pyramid, in the temples of the Çiuateteo,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very

auh in techachā novian onacxoiatemaia, qujnoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhtzintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, naolotl: in cana ieolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli qujoaltemaca: moteneoa, cacalotl ca qujmocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nē mocalhujaia, can iehoantin injmel, in tlacelianj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochicanj, in amo tlatlacanequjnj in jmel.

● [252] poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

And on the third day of the spreading out of

Auh in ie ic ieilhujtl acxoiatemalo: iquac heco in

[776] branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, iehoatl achto heco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlaçcanj, cotze:

X 796 252 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offerings for him. They offered him fish amaranth seed, ground and made into a ball of dough.

ipampa in achto oalaci, yoan qujtlamanjliaia: in qujmanjliaia, mjchiouhtli, in tlapololli:

First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

achtopa qujcequj, qujtzomotza comalco, çatepan qujteci: auh in oqujtezque, çatepā qujpoloaia, atica: cequj necutica, in qujpoloaia: aço macujltetl, aço

1. *Teuu hoo—Los dioses llegan,* in Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 307. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 165, refers to tonijco as *la fiesta de la venida de los dioses.* The spelling "Teti eco" is in the *Florentine Codex.*

2. See note 3, p. 59. In Cap. XXXIV (Panquetzaliztli), Sahagún explains that *"por ramos llevaban estas verdes y espinas de magney,"* and, in Cap. XXV (Ezcalqualiztli), *"donde no había estos ramos cortaban estas verdes en lugar de acxoyatl."*

3. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that *"Tenían edificados oratorios a honra de estas diosas en todas las barrios donde había dos calles; los cuales llamaban cihuateocalli, o por otro nombre cihuatenpan; en estos oratorios tenían las imágenes de estas diosas. . . ."* Clavigero, (*loc. cit.*) says: *"enramaban las templos y las encrucijadas de las calles."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

4. *Olotl* is more properly corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 32; however, he usually renders it maize ear.

5. *"Cuerno, o tenazuela . . . para comer granos de maya tostado casi reventado"* (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the term *apixaualli.*

6. These names are synonyms for Tonatiuhpoca.

[with them], and then went off carrying it. When they came to his presence, then they put it down; they laid it down for him.

And when it was already night, then the beloved old men and old women drank wine. In this manner they spoke: it was said, "They bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day had come, then ended the scattering of the branches. Then they threw away the branches. And when the fifth day came, then in truth was when [it was the feast] Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.

At midnight [the priests] prepared a flour of maize, which they patted and pressed together, making it round [and flat] like a shield, and placing it upon a mat.

When [it was time that] all the gods should reach here, and arrive, they made preparations. All set themselves in motion, that the gods might arrive.

And the old priest, [the god's] aged one, named "He who keepeth the god," kept going back to look upon [the maize flour on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. Never did he rest. His office was only to look. Never did he leave his foot; [for] that which he watched, the maize flour, was called his "foot."

And when [the god] arrived, then he saw a small foot[print], which was there upon the maize flour, or at its edge; when he stood upon the [cake of] maize flour, it split.[7] Then it was plain that the gods had arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Verily, the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] went in procession, blowing shell trumpets, to proclaim [the news] everywhere. Then by this was it known that in truth the gods had come.

And all the common folk thereupon went away and departed to lay offerings in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

And when they had made the offerings, all was still,

And when night fell, in the same manner as they did [before], the old men and the beloved old women drank wine. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have come."

And the next day, then came Yacapitzauac, this Yacatecutli, who was the god of the merchants; and

nauhtetl in cololoa, quauhcaxic in tetentiuh, mec quitquitiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia.

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh quitoaia, quilmach quicxipaca.

Auh in oacic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in aczoiatemaliztli: iquac quitepeoa in aczoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in qujchioaia, iotextli, quitepitztlaliaia, quipachoaia, ioaltic injc quitlaliaia, petlapã in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, quicencaoaia, cemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta iotextli, motenteoa: icxi.

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, icxitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza iotextli, texxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca ohecoque in teteu:

njman ic qujoalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, quitzacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu.

Auh in jzqujch macoalli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanazque inteupã, in inteteupan diablome: çã moche in tlapololli, in qujnmanjlia:

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie ioa: çan ie no ivi in qujchioa, tlatlaoana in veveque, in jlamatzitzin, qujlmach, qujmjcxipaca in ohecoque teteu.

Auh in jmuxtlaioc, iquac heco in Jacapitzaoac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca inteouh catca, yoa in Ixcoçauh-

7. The word ololoia is explained by Guilbert (op. cit., p. 307): "dusk quil couch le front vollecte votre ololoia le lendemain matin dimanche"—"y después cuando vuelven los dioses, se quedó el cuerpo ahuecado de hundirse de cada."

And upon the next day, all drank wine; all began the drinking. The wine which was drunk was named blue wine. All the old men, the old women, the warriors of noble lineage, they who had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the nobility, and the leaders of nobility—they drank the wine.

And the young chiefs, who were already mature, drank wine, but they drank only in secret, not disclosing themselves; they hid themselves well in the dark; they retired behind bushes, lest they be seen

And if anyone discovered them, if it were known that verily they drank wine, that indeed all had gathered and congregated together—they beat them with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and shaved their heads like servants. They dragged them, kicking them; they hurled them to the ground; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them exceedingly. Sometimes, from this, death came.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], they cast them hence, they threw them out of the house. Thus fear came over [the people].

And in the home of him who had ceremonially bathed [the victims], there was song; there was beating of ground drums, rattling of gourd rattles, beating of turtle shells. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there song; only upon the floor was the ground drum beaten. Gifts and favors were given all who worked and served the guests—those who cared for the tobacco, who saw to the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who saw to the chocolate; or who saw to the water; and those who offered food—the hosts. And the honored women, who were among the [cooking] vessels—who cared for the *tamales*, or the meat; those who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood by the wine—the wine makers. And all the neighbors—all of them—were offered gifts.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was called "The Mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man was arrayed to] resemble, and was the likeness of, the Chonchayotl. His hair was wild and disordered, bloody and frightful.[19] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the priests, who went, and stood, with the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart lay the young warriors.

Then, at midday, they began skirmishing, in mock battle. They struck one another with fir branches, and canes, and tough, thin reeds bound firmly, tightly,

19. See Pl. 31.

tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vctli mja itoca matlalvctli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoā in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoā in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vctli.

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vctli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel mōxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittozque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machilikoeque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlalilōia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoā qujnquatexoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelaxitia: nemamaco injc mjctilōia.

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmā in ca oalmaiavi, qujnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic maviztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo, aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in mōtzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequipanoque in techixquj, in qujmocuitlauja yiell, yn iiepā ca, yoan in qujmocuitlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipā icac: yoan in vctli ipan icac, yn vctlalj: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia.

Auh injc eilhujtl motenoa chonchaiocacalioa, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn ōqujccncauhque chōchaiotl, mec moxeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan coa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti:

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, ichoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlal-

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *tesstetl*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, ichoatl in tliltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teutetl, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, tezcapoctli ica:

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itzjuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc.

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmā ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

Auh in oquitlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmōmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoā, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in ōmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaztimanj, vncā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque.

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmā ie ic tezcalcevilo, tezcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vctli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotō,

5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"hazian otro ves, estatua del diez, del fuego, de pedrillas y cárcoles azules, unas con otras. . . ."*
6. *Tonalquechtapalcatl*: in Lib. XI, Cap. i, 14 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexican eagles, *"las plumas del cuello y de las ancas, hasta la cola, son de hechura de coraças (y) llámanlas tapalcatl. . . ."*
7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"y enxeridas unas penachos de plumas pelados, que parecian como penachos de xaras."*
8. *Uiloepalli*: *"una manera de xaras que llaman uiloepalli, de maiz molido, hechas ans coser. . . ."* (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. II, p. 326).

X 796 **Thirty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast which was named Uauhquiltamalqualiztli,[1] which was celebrated after the days of the month named above; and when [it was this feast], they celebrated it to honor him who was their god, whose name was Ixcoçauhqui.**

Injc cempoalli on cxxiolli omei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, in motenecoaia: Ouuhquiltamalqualiztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic tlamatlacti in metztli in tlacpac omjto: auh in jquac y, qujlhujquiztiliaia, in inteouh catca, in jtoca Ixoçauhquj.

Izcalli and the end of Izcalli are placed verily in the month of January, after eight days, when it was already the eighth day. By custom, it was upon the eighth day. When this [day came], *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. In all places they observed [the custom]; everywhere. Nowhere was this not done. In every house, in every village, two [*tamales*] were eaten, when it was the feast of the *tamales* stuffed with greens; all made *tamales* thus stuffed. And all offered [this] food, one to another. In this wise were they given; they were given among themselves—to their companions, to those whom they knew. They were offered not in ill will but in gladness.

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Izcalli, yoan Izcalli tlamj: inin vel ipan motlalia in metztli henero, je iuh chicueilhujtl manj, ie ichicueilhujoc, ie iuh chicueilhujtica: in jquac in, oauhquiltamalli qualoia: novian quitzacutimāca, ipanoca, acā cavia: in cecencalpan, yoan in cecemaltepetl ipan, vel ontetlamja in neoauhquiltamalhujlo, in neoauhquiltamaltilo: auh nepanotl nemacoia, nepanotl nemamacoia, ic netlatlamacoia, necepāmacoia, nenetech macoia, necnjuhmacoia, neiximatcamacoia, amo netlavelmacoia, nepaccamacoi.

Whoever first cooked her *tamales* stuffed with greens then went to offer it in her tribal temple, to her neighbor, to those who lived in nearby houses. And if her kin lived in distant parts, first she made an offering for them.

in aquin achto°oicucic ioauhquiltamal njman ic iauh qujmacaz in jcalpo, in jealecapo, in jcalnaoac tlacatl: yoan in vecapa ivaniolquj, achto contonaltiaia.

X 796 264 And when this was done, when she had offered it everywhere to others, then they [all] sat down to eat their *tamales* stuffed with greens. They were arranged in a circle; they brought—assembled and gathered together—their children, forming family groups.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in onoviampa qujtemamacac njmā motlalia in qujquazque, in inoauhquiltamal, moiaoaloa, qujncemololoa qujnnechicoa, qujncentlalia qujntecpichoa in impilhoā inin cencaltia.

And first they made an offering to the fire; they offered five *tamales* stuffed with greens before the hearth. These were in a wooden vessel. Then they each set in place and made an offering for their dead, where they lay buried.

Auh achtopa contlamanjlia in tletl, tlecujlixquac cōmana in oauhquiltamalli macujltetl, quauhcaxtica mantiuh, mollotiuh, çatepan cecentetl q'ntlatlaliliaia, qujnmamanjlia in immjccāoan, in vncā totoctoque:

And as they ate, they sat burning themselves, sweating with heat. Steam arose [from the *tamales*]. As they ate, they ate with relish, sucking upon it and gulping, sitting panting, and smearing it upon their lips.

njmā ie ic tlaqua, muchichinotoque, in jitonjtoque, vel totontlapetztic ipotoquiztiuh in qujqua, in qujpaccaqua tlatlaltequj, ontlaltectivi, neneciuhtoque, cocociuhtoque:

X 796 252 And the [corn] husks [in which were wrapped] the *tamales* stuffed with greens [were laid] apart;

auh in jzoaio, oauhquiltamalli, çan nōqua, cecnj qujtlaliaia, atlan cōtepeoaia: auh aiac vel qujpalooaia

1. *Uauhquiltamalqualiztli*—the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 12, n. 66. Much of the material in this chapter is discussed also in the previous one (Izcalli).

they placed them to one side. They strewed them in the water, and none, verily, might taste the husks. Because of this, care was therefore taken that none should be scorched, burned, or dropped into the fire.

And only during one day were they eaten. By night they were done; all finished. They left nothing for the next day.

And when it grew dark, the old men and the old women drank, alone. It was said: "They refresh themselves."

And after this they set up the image of the fire [god], Ixcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyoueue. They gave him figure and substance of a dough of amaranth seed. These things they whose office it was, did—the men of the tribal temple, known as the Tzonmulca[2]—who especially worshipped [fire] as a god.

And when the twentieth day came, it was said: "Izcalli hath ended." They who provided ceremonially bathed victims then published and made it known to others [that they had secured sacrificial victims, each] setting forth in public his ceremonially bathed one, a slave whom he had bought, made [to be] the likeness of Ixcoçauhqui; the owner then adorned him, causing to be placed upon him all the array of Ixcoçauhqui. Thus it was said: "The bather [of the victim] gathereth [his wealth]."

And for this reason did one say "the bather [of a victim]": he continually bathed his victim with hot water all the time until he went to his death; all the time he caused him to know that death would be his lot at an appointed time; that he would die in the count of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And before he died, he favored him greatly. The bather was careful of [the victim]; he enriched him [with gifts]; he restored all to him. All the food which he offered him was good.

And a harlot was provided as his guardian. Constantly she amused him; she caressed him; she made him laugh and be merry. Taking him about the neck, she rejoiced, she embraced him. She caught his lice [for him]; she combed his hair and arranged his hairdress. She made him forget his sorrows. And when the time came for the bathed one to die, the harlot took everything; she rolled and bundled up all the belongings of the bathed one. That which he wore he placed upon her; that which he had used

in izoatl: ipampa ic momalhujaia inic amo aca mochichinoz, motlatiz, tleco onvetziz. 796[X] [252]

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ie ioon otlatlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuzthioc.

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalcevia. [273]

Auh in jquac y, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla tletl Ixcoçauhquj, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzopalli in qujtlacatlaliaia, in qujnacaiotiaia: iehoan qujchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, moteneoa: Tzommulca, oc cenca iehoan in qujmoteutiaia.

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Izcalli tlamj: in tealtianj, iquac qujteittitia, qujteixmachtia, teixpan qujquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oquicouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Ixcoçauhquj, iquac ic qujchichioa itech qujtlalilia in jxquich in jnechichioal Ixcoçauhquj ic mjtoaia, tlaixnextia in tealtianj: [567]

auh injc mjtoa, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxqujch cavitl mjqujtiuh, in jxqujch cavitl qujmatitiuh in vncā imjqujz tequjpā in jtlapoalpan: in mjqujz ipan tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Auh in aiamo mjquj, cenca qujmavizmatia, qujçeçēmatia in tealtianj, qujtlanenectia qujtlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in qujmacaia:

auh ce avienj, in jtepāzcauh muchioaia: muchipa caviltia, caavilia, qujcamanalhuja, qujvetzqujtia, qujquequeloa, iquechtlan āaqui, qujquechnaoa, caatemja, qujtzitziquaoazvia, qujpepepetla, qujtlaoculpopoloa: auh in jquac ie imjquizpan tlaaltilli: in avienj moch concuj, ontlacemololoa, concemololoa in jxquich in jtlatquj tlaaltilli: in oqujquequemja, in jtech oqujtlatlaliaia in oquijtitlanja, in jpā oiztlacattinenca, 796[X] 548 [515]

2. Tzonmulco: temple of the fire god; also one of the districts of Tenochtitlan. It is mentioned in the Appendix, p. 177, as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. V, p. 74).

into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *maguey* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

vitztlalia, itecciz ietiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oncito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl mecoaia tlatlauhtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, yielpan, ymetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoço yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ie tachcaoa, atlã õmaltiaia.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano tle ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Tlapaloa, ai. *tomar el pan con[sic] poquito, quando ayunan*" (Molina, *op. cit.*).

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The most famous of the edible invertebrates is the *axayácatl*, referred to as *axaxayácatl* by Sahagún and Hernandez. Although modern writers (Vaillant, 1941; Apenes, 1943; Linné, 1948; Anderson and Dibble, 1954) persist in calling these insects flies, it has been known for more than a century that they are corixid waterbugs. Sahagún's Spanish word was *coquillo*, not *mosco* or *mosquillo*, so the confusion is not his fault. In post-Conquest times the dried adult insects have been widely sold in the markets of the world as food for caged birds, but they were also used as human food; Hernandez says that they were cooked in maize leaves in nitrous water. Hernandez also makes it clear that these insects are the source of *ahuautli*, a cake made from the eggs that is still much eaten in Mexico, particularly on watch-nights such as Christmas Eve and Holy Thursday. That *ahuautli* was formerly a staple that survives as a delicacy is suggested by its name, which is derived from *atl*, water, and *huautli*, amaranth seed. Now that Sauer (1950) has cleared up some of the indescribable confusion surrounding the use of grain amaranths in aboriginal Mexico, we can begin to appreciate that *ahuautli* was really "water grain", though not in the literal sense of "water wheat" implied by Tylor (1861), whose etymology has confused such later writers as Packard (1871). The identity of the insects is an equally tangled bibliographic problem in which the zoologists have hardly been more helpful than the historians.

The fullest and most authoritative-sounding account is that of Orozco y Berra, given in his memoir on the hydrography of the Valley of Mexico (1864). This historian quoted in full de la Llave's description (1832; reprinted 1887) of the adult insect under the name *Ahuautlea mexicana* (which appears to be the correct name, though it has been ignored by zoological writers; it has priority over the generic name *Krisousacorixa* Hungerford 1930 and the specific name *Corixa femorata* Guérin-Meneville 1857). He described the cultivation of *ahuautli*, which is accomplished by placing bundles of *tules* (*Scirpus* or *Typha*) in the water of Lake Texcoco, stripping off the eggs which the insects lay in countless millions, and processing them into cakes. This much of Orozco y Berra's work is correct; it is fully confirmed by the modern observations of Ancona (1933), and, if there is any doubt that the practice is an aboriginal one, the doubt is removed by Sahagún's figures, reproduced in Plate I, nos. 220–221. Professor Hutchinson assures me that no. 220 is certainly the oldest known figure of a corixid waterbug. Oddly enough, Sahagún does not describe the practice or mention *ahuautli* with the edible insects in Book Eleven, though he lists it among the products sold in the market in the 19th chapter of Book Eight. Hernandez repairs the omission.

Ancona's account (1933) is the only one by a modern zoologist, and

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a salt lake, and Aldrich (1912) gives a graphic account of *Ephydra gracilis* Packard on the Great Salt Lake, Utah, and of *Ephydra hians* on Mono Lake, California. The latter are not only collected in quantity and eaten by Paiute Indians, but were bred out of supposed "larvae" of the *axayácatl* of Lake Texcoco by Peñafiel (1884) and identified by Williston, who referred to Peñafiel's specimens in 1883 and again in 1896. Even Ancona overlooked the fact that Peñafiel's larvae could have nothing to do with a corixid, so that Aldrich's remark, "it seems that the Diptera and the Hemiptera are mingled together in the quotations", is an understatement.

The pupae of ephydrids come to the surface and undergo mass emergence, and it is then (in September) that they are collected and processed as *kootsabe* by the Paiutes of Mono Lake. In all probability this is the product that the Aztecs called *cuculin*. (The words sound distantly related, which is not inconceivable, as Paiute is a member of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic group). The substance is definitely confounded with *tecuitlatl* by Orozco y Berra, however, and the suggestion that it is made of the pupae of *Ephydra hians* is made with due hesitation. As Aldrich said, "only an investigation by an entomologist at the lake can clear up the confusion" (1912, p. 92). Though Sahagún does not mention *cuculin*, nos. 224 to 227 in Plate I appear to depict stages in its manufacture, or in the collection of the larvae, *izcauitli*.

The puzzling stuff called *tecuitlatl* is mentioned by Sahagún in Book Eight, and listed (as *tecuiltlatl*) with the lower animals in Book Eleven. He describes it as "*urronas*" ("*urrosas*" in Lord Kingsborough's edition (1831–48), but neither form occurs in any dictionary I have consulted nor does my own reading "orroras") which grow on the water, have a purple color, and are harvested, dried on mud, and made into cakes. Anderson and Dibble translate the Nahuatl word as "scum", and the material is probably algal. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, p. 59) refers to it as "green sheets that grow, which, when made into a cake and baked, take on a dark green color, and which the Spaniards call *queso de la tierra*". Hernandez, who lists it among the minerals, confirms the purple or green color ("color adhuc recenti cyaneus, aut viridis"). López de Gómara, who was never in Mexico, but who published in 1552 a delightful book on the Conquest that has been a best-seller for four hundred years, adds the suggestive detail that the substance (which he does not name) was gathered on "threshing floors" (*eras*) like those in which salt is made. He said that it is eaten as we eat cheese, and described its flavor as salty, but very good with *chilmolli* (1943 edition, pp. 238–239); continuing with the sonorous text of the first English edition (1578, reprinted in facsimile 1940) from

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which the above details are omitted, "yea, and they holde opinion that this skume or fatnesse of the water, is ye cause that such great number of foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite."

Linné (1948), who considers that the substance was an alga that is no longer used, identifies it with the cakes that Bernal Diaz del Castillo saw being sold in the market at Tlatelolco, and which he described as having a cheeselike flavor (1928 edition, p. 300). It is not improbable that Diaz' cakes were made of corixid eggs, *ahuautli*, and it is conceivable that Sahagún's substance was also, though the reference to purple color makes it unlikely. If purple *Oscillatoria* or *Nostoc* were used as food at the time of Conquest, they are doubtless so used today, but the scene of the harvest may be expected to have shifted with the changing salinity of the Valley lakes and the decline of native salt manufacture.

The remaining invertebrates on Sahagún's list have drawn no attention from historians, and, possibly for that reason, they can be identified with some confidence. The *acocili* is clearly a crayfish, presumably *Cambarellus montezumae* (Saussure), and this is the modern Mexican name for that animal (DeBuen, 1944 a; Villalobos, 1943). Sahagún distinguishes it from the *camarón*, or shrimp (*Macrobrachium* or *Palaemon*), and discusses the latter in another part of the chapter, though without giving its Nahuatl name. Plate I, no. 219, leaves no doubt of the identification. In that figure it is accompanied by a dytiscid beetle larva, and this is presumably the *ocúiliztac*, which are "muy ligeros en el agua". Finally, the *anenezili*, which "turns into those bugs (*coquillos*) that have four wings and fly, and are called hawks (*gavilanes*) in Castile", is almost certainly a dragon-fly larva (Odonata). No. 220 in Plate I appears to represent the adult.

One point should not escape notice, in this melancholy record of confusion: four centuries of scholarship have not sufficed to bring limnologic knowledge of the Valley of Mexico up to the stage attained by the Aztecs and used by them in their daily lives.

CHEMISTRY. An inorganic product of the lakes that was also fully exploited was salt. Ethnographic data on saltmaking have been collected by Apenes (1944), and the importance of salt in aboriginal economy has been extensively discussed by Mendizábal (1929; reprinted in the *Obras Completas*, 1946). The latter author points out that evaporation by artificial heat is a practice introduced by the Aztecs and other high cultures of the highlands, and that the archaic method of solar evaporation survives in those areas less subject to Aztec domination. A standard feature of the more sophisticated method is the separation of silt by settling and filtration from the water to be evaporated, and today

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two loads of mantles, and he did it cheerfully and in every way he seemed to be a great Prince. When these things had been distributed, he asked Cortés if we were all brethren and vassals of our great Emperor, and Cortés replied yes, we were brothers in affection and friendship, and persons of great distinction, and servants of our great King and Prince. Further polite speeches passed between Montezuma and Cortés, and as this was the first time he had come to visit us, and so as not to be wearisome, they ceased talking. Montezuma had ordered his stewards that, according to our own use and customs in all things, we should be provided with maize and [grinding] stones, and women to make bread, and fowls and fruit, and much fodder for the horses. Then Montezuma took leave of our Captain and all of us with the greatest courtesy, and we went out with him as far as the street. Cortés ordered us not to go far from our quarters for the present, until we knew better what was expedient. I will stop here and go on to tell what happened later.

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CHAPTER XC.

How on the following day our Captain Cortés went to see the Great Montezuma, and about a certain conversation that took place.

THE next day Cortés decided to go to Montezuma's palace, and he first sent to find out what he intended doing and to let him know that we were coming. He took with him four captains, namely Pedro de Alvarado Juan Velásquez de Leon, Diego de Ordás, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, and five of us soldiers also went with him.

When Montezuma knew of our coming he advanced to the middle of the hall to receive us, accompanied by many of his nephews, for no other chiefs were permitted to

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to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

643 644

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

643 252

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

643 252 262

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this
[374] way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
[352] worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in bad grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much preoccupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Pachs were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; sand was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.[3] This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

auh in ie oallathui coatioan, nepiclon tecoanotzaloz, cẽca neahamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatlacencaoalo, vchichioalo, itholchichioalo, tlatlaixmanalo, tlatlaltemalo, tlatlacujcujoa, tlaxtemalo, tlauililo, tlatzelhujlo, tlaixxalhujlo, tolquatecteco, tlapipilolo, tolquatectli moteca, mopipiloa, ỉ vncẽ netotiloz, tlatzetzclolo, ỹin iehoã intequjuh incocol, cocoltilo, in cujcanjme.

574 [554]

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or slew, singed, and dressed dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the ashes was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a seashell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis — different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant swaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

auh in cequjn tlavivitla, totolhuivitla, totolchichioa, itzcujnmjctia, itzcujnchichinoa, itzcujnchichioa, nacachichioa, nacapaoaci, cõcontlatia, in cequjn yietlalchioa, yietlahxqualooa, yietema teçacatica, auh in nextitlan, iehoan intequjuh yn ilamatque quichioa tamalli, piqui, tamaloa, tlatlaoiotia, quatecuicuilli quichioa, nacatlaoio, nacatamalli quichioa, cequjn tamalpaoaci, cequjn nextamalpaca cequjn açaçaca, atlatlacuj, ateteca, cequjn cacaoatl quixamanja, cacaoteci, tlacuechoa, cequjn tlanextlamalnelioa, cequjn molchichioa, chilixca, chichilixca, çan iuh ceiooal in nemoa tozçolo, tozçoa totozçolo tlavilli quiztoc, chachalacoatoc,

574 252 [887]

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and lined up all which might be required.

auh yn otlavizcalleoac, njman ie ic tlatlachpano, petlateteco, icpalteteco, çacapechtli moteteca, motevmoloa, tlatenvimollolli, ie ic tlaoooc, ie omocuecuentilli, in ixqujch monenequiz,

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Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the care, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

ie omotetecpanque, ie in mãmania, omotẽtequippantique, in tlatequipanozque, in tenamiquizque, aocmo quen ipã in tecoanotzqui, in tecoanotzanj, ça ixqujch ynecuitlavil in teca mochioa, ỉ tepantlatoa, in maca onxiccaoalo, onjxcaoalo,

574 357

3. In ibid., subsequent folium damaged.

824 531

Third Chapter, which telleth of flowers artificially arranged.[3]

Flowers arranged with artifice: there were many kinds thus named, flowers artificially arranged—flower shields; flowers for clipped heads, or for shorn ones, or drums; or spreading [flowers]. As to these flowers the ancients were also deluded. They said: "It is not our right to smell in the midst—the center—of them; he alone, he who pervadeth all, Titlacauan, may smell that place. Our right is only to smell them there at the edges."

Injc ey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in suchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.

Suchitl ic tlatlalilli: ca mjiec tlamantli injc motocaiotia in suchitl tlatlalilli, chimalsuchitl, quateçonsuchitl, quachic, vevetl, moiaunc: In jtechpa yn suchitl, no motlapololtiaya in vevetque, quitoaia: ca amo tonemac in tlanepantla, in jnepantla tiquinecujzque ca çan iceltzin vel vncan motlanecujltia in tloque naoaque, in titlacaoan: çanijo tonemac, in vncan titlanecujzque in jtenco.

824

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of dried grains of maize.

Injc navi capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tlaulli.

As to dried grains of maize, in many ways were the women none the less deluded. First, when they cooked it or set it in ashes—behold their folly: when they would place it in the olla with ashes, first of all they breathed upon it. It was held that in this way it would not take fright; thus it would not fear the heat. It was said that thus they mitigated the heat.

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In jtechpa in tlaulli: mjiec tlamantli oc noma, ic motlapololtia in cioa. Injc centlamantli: in jquac quicuxitia, in anoço quinexquetza: izcatquj in jnnetlapololtiliz, in jquac ie contemazque in nexcomjc: oc achtopa conahaiovia, qujlmach ic amo momauhtiz, ic amo motonalmauhtiz: qujlmach ic contonallalilia.

Second, they deceived themselves in this way: if they saw or came upon dried grains of maize lying scattered on the ground, then they quickly gathered them up. They said: "Our sustenance suffereth: it lieth weeping. If we should not gather it up, it would accuse us before our lord. It would say: 'O our lord, this vassal picked me not up when I lay scattered upon the ground. Punish him!' Or perhaps we should starve."

Injc vntlamantli, injc muztlacavia: intla oquitaque, in anoço oypan quiçato tlaulli chachaiauatoc tlalpan: njman conpepentiuetzi, quitoa: motolinja in tonacaiutl, mochochoquilitoc: ca intlacamo ticpepenazque, ca techtreixpanujz in ixpantzinco totecujo: ca quimolhujliz. Totecujoe, injn maceoalli: ca amo nechpepen, in jquac tlalpan njcnmantoca: ma xicmotlatzacujltili: auh anoce timaianazque.

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of stepping over one.

Injc macujlli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tecuencholhujlizti.

As to stepping over one, the natives also [were] deluded. When some child lay stretched out across one's path, if someone stepped over him, then they chid him who passed over him, saying to him: "Why dost thou step over him?"

It was said that thereby the child would grow no more; he would be only small. And in order to cure him, so that [this] might not befall the child, once again he stepped back over him.[4] Thus was it remedied.

In jtechpa tecuencholhujlizti: no centlamantli innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tla aca melavatoc piltontli, necujliuhtoc: intla aca oconcuencholhuj, njman caoa in aquin otecuencholhuj, qujlhuja. Tle ipampa in ticcuencholhuja:

qujlmach ic ayocmo manaz in piltontli, ça izqujchton iez: auh injc compatiaia, injc amo ipan muchiouz piltontli, oc ceppa qujoalpancholhuja: ic vmpatia.

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3. *Xuchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.* Corresponding Spanish text: *"las flores, que se componen de muchas flores."*

4. *Quioalpancholhuja.* Corresponding Spanish text: *"otra vez mandar tornar a pasar sobre él, por la parte contraria."*

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of earthquakes.

When the earth quivered, a delusion of the natives was to be seen. When the earth quaked, then they quickly took their children by the neck and lifted them,[12] so that they might soon grow big — so that they might mature quickly. It was said that if they did not take them by the neck and lift them quickly, they would with difficulty wax larger. And they said that the earthquake would bear [the child] away if they did not grasp him by the neck and lift him. And they sprinkled water upon their faces.

And they sprinkled, their square wooden beams, their food storage bins, their cooking pots, and indeed all their goods, everything, they sprinkled with water. And if they forgot something, they wrangled over it; it was said that the earthquake would take it away. And everyone raised a din and cried out while striking the hand to the lips in order to make known [the earthquake] to those who knew not of it.[13]

Injc matlactli vnoome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn tlallolinjlizt̄li. 823

In jquac tlallolinj, centlamantli neci innetlapololtiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tlallolinj, njman iciuhca quinquechaana in jnpillohan, injc yciuhca quaquauhtiexque, injc yciuhca manazque: qujlmach intlacamo quinquechaanazque iciuhca, ayamcan quauhtiazque: yoan quitoaia, qujvica in tlallolinjlizt̄li, intlacamo quiquechaanazque, yoan quimjxalpichiaia. 856

Auh yn jncal, in jntlaquetzal, in jncuezcon, in jxmuc, in ye ixquich intlatquj, muchi catzelhuja: auh intla ytla oquilcauhque, yc maoaia: quilmach qujvica in tlallolinjlizt̄li: yoan ixquich tlacatl ycacacaia, motenvitequja: yc quinmachiltiaya, in amo qujmati. 823

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the [three] hearth stones.

Concerning the [three] hearth stones there was also a delusion of the natives. When they saw someone kicking[14] the hearth stones, they restrained him from doing so. They said to him: "Do not kick the hearth stones. It will deaden thy feet when, perchance, thou goest to war." They said to him that now he would not be able to walk or run in time of battle. His feet would be numbed; quickly he would fall into the hands of their foes. Hence the natives restrained their youths, that this might not befall them.

Injc matlactli vmey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tenamaztli. 354

In jtechpa in tenamaztli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: in jquac in aca qujtta, in qujtlicçatica in tenamaztli: yc qujtlacaoaltiaia, qujlhujaia: macamo xictiliçatia in tenamaztli mitzjcxinmjmjctiz in jquac intla tiaz iavc, qujlhuja: aiocmo vel nenemjz, aiocmo vel motlaloz in iaupan: ça ycxinmjmjqujz, yciuhca ynmac vetziz in jniaovan: ynjc qujntlacaoaltiaia in jntelpuchoan, in njcan tlaca, injc amo yuh inpan mochioaz.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the tortilla doubled over on the griddle.

When a woman made tortillas, if her tortilla doubled over, there was also a delusion of theirs. She said: "Someone who now cometh hath kicked

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in comalco mocuelpachoa tlaxcalli. 252

In jquac tlaxcaloa in cioa, intla ocuelpachiuh itlaxcal: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, qujtoa: aquin ie vitz oquijoaltilicçac: auh in anoce yoquichvi, in ca-

12. *Quiquechaanaz.* Literally, they took them by the neck. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*tomauan a sus niños con ambas las manos, por cabe las orejas, y los leuantauan en alto.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*para que todos entendiessen, que temblaua la tierra.*"

14. *Quitlicçatica.* Literally, were kicking it (cf. tlliça, Molina, *op. cit.*); corresponding Spanish text: "*los que passauan al pie sobre las trebedes, que eran tres piedras.*"

252 it over." Or if, perchance, her husband had gone somewhere distant, she said: "Now he cometh, for he hath kicked over my tortilla."

napa veca oya, quitoaia: ca ye huitz, ca quioaltilicçac yn notlaxcal.

861 **Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of small children who licked the surface of the grinding stone.**

When small children licked the surface of the grinding stone, the mothers chid and scolded their young ones for it, and restrained them from it, saying to them: "Do not lick the grinding stone; your teeth will thus quickly break and fall out." Because of this, they filled their small children with great fear, so that this would not befall them.

Injc caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn pipiltotonti quixpaloa metlatl.

In iquac pipiltotonti quixpapaloa metlatl: yc teaoaia, yc quimaoaia, yc quintlacaoaltiaia in tenanoan yn inpilhoan, quimilhuiaia: macamo xicpapalocan in metlatl, yc iciuhca cocotoniz, yciuhca vevetziz in amotlan. Ipampa yn, cenca quimimacaxiltiaia in pipiltotonti: injc amo iuh ynpan muchioaz.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of him who leaned against a square pillar.

When they saw one who leaned against a square pillar, there also was folly of the natives;[15] they chid him for it, and restrained him from doing so; they prevented their children from doing it. They said to them: "Do not lean against the pillar; it is a liar." Thus did they speak: "It giveth one lies; it is like unto one who lieth." [With] this, they terrified the children lest such might befall them and they tell lies.

Injc caxtolli ocs capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: yn aquin itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli.

In iquac aca quittaia, in itech motlaxticac tlaquetzalli: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tla: yc teaoaia, ic tetlacaoaltiaia, ic quintlacaoaltiaia in ynpilhoan, quimilhuiaia: macamo ytech ximotlaztica in tlaquetzalli, yhiztlacati: iuh quitoaia: ca ichoatl quitemaca in iztlacatilizttli, itech quicuj: in aquin ihiztlacati. Inin, cenca quimimacaxiltiaia in tepilhoan: injc amo iuh inpan muchioaz, ynic amo yhiztlacatizque.

861 264 **Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the maidens who ate standing.**

In times past, when the natives saw their maidens eat standing, they also restrained them from it. They prevented their children from doing so. They said to them: "Eat not while thou art standing. Thou wilt marry far from here.—Who will follow thee?" It was said that it would befall one that she would marry in a distant place; she would be taken somewhere far away, not in her own city where she lived.

Injc caxtolli onsome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ichpupuchti in çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua.

In ie vecuh in njcan tlaca: in iquac in quimjttaia in jmjchpuchoan ỹ çan moquequetztimanj tlaqua: no yc tetlacaoaltiaia, ic quintlacaoaltiaia in jnpilhoan, quimilhuiaia: macamo ximoquetztica in titlaqua, veca timocchotiz, ac mitzicxitocaz: quilmach ichoatl ipan muchioaia, in veca moquichvatia, in cana veca vico: in amo yaltepeuh ipan nemj.

846 753 **Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth how maize cobs were burned.**

When one had just given birth to a child, she who, residing there, had given birth should not then burn maize cobs. It was said that if there [maize cobs]

Injc caxtolli onsey capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in quenjn motlatia olotl.

In iquac aca mjtzivia, avel vncan quitlatiaia in olotl: in vncan onoc mjxiuhquj, quil intla vncan tlatlaz: yc ichchichitinjz in piltontli. Auh intla ça

15. *In spite the usual view.*

Thirty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of the sweat house.

Although the sweat house were very hot, where all bathed, if one known as a twin went there, then he would dispel the steam and destroy [the heat], however hot the sweat house were — even if he went to stand only at the doorway; even more so if he were to bathe among [the others]. But thus could he remedy it; it was said that four times he himself cast potsherds on the ground and sprinkled them with water. It was thought that thus he would not dispel the heat. It would be even hotter.

And when two were born who were called twins, it was said that wherever something was dyed, when [someone] dyed rabbit fur, they might not enter there. If they were to enter there, it was said, they would cast a spell over it; they would blow the colors off. It would come out badly — it would become multicolored, especially [if the dye were] chili red. But thus was it remedied: [the dyer] made him taste the dye water. It was said that in this way the rabbit fur would not be damaged.

Likewise, neither might those known as twins enter where tamales were cooking; because, it was said, if they came in there, they would also bewitch the tamales and the cooking pot. They would not cook, though [left there] all day. The tamales would each one cook only on one side. And in order to remedy it, so that it would not thus happen, when perhaps they went to enter, they placed the cooking pot on the fire. And if by chance the tamales were placed in the pot in [their] presence, they made them lay one [of them] in place. It was said that thus the tamales would not be harmed.

Injc cempoalli on castolli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in temazcalli. 343 515 845

In temazcalli, in vncan netemalo: intlanel cenca totonquj, intla vmpa iaz, in motenecoa cocoa: njmã quipouhtitlaça, quipoloa injc cenca totonquj ocatca in temazcalli: intlanel çan quiiaoac onmoquetzatiuh: oc cenca intla tehoan motemaz. Auh injc patiz quil nappa in vel inoma contlaçaz, in conatequjx tapalcatl: quil ic amo quipoloz, injc totonquj: çan oc cenca totonquj iez.

Ioan in vmẽtin tlacati, in mjtoa cocoa, quilmach in canjn tlapalo, in quipa tochomjtl: amo vel vmpa calaquj: yntla vmpa calaquiz, quilmach quizoza, quipitza in tlapalli: amo qualli in quiça, çan mocujcujcuiloa: oc cenca yehoatl in chichiltic. Auh injc pati, achi contlapaloltia in tlapalatl: quil ic amo ytlacaviz in tochomjtl. 845 386

No yoan in iehoantin in mjtoa cocoa, in cahjn mopacaci tamalli: amono vel vmpa calaquj: iehica quilmach intla vmpa calaquizque, no quizoza in tamalli, yoan in comjtl: amo vel ycuci, intlanel cemjlhujtl: çan chichicuycuciz in tamalli. Auh injc pati, injc amo juh muchioaz: in jquac tla ocalaquito, contlatiz in comjtl. Auh intlanoçe ijxpan moconterma tamalli, centetl ipan contlalilia: quil ic amo ytlacaviz in tamalli. 845 252

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the time when the teeth of small children dropped.

When the teeth of small children dropped out, the mothers cast them into a mouse-hole, or they said to their children: "Place it in the mouse-hole." For it was said that if they were not to do this, the small child's teeth could not grow; he would remain quite toothless.

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Injc cempoalli on castolli omome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa: in jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti. 856

In jquac vetzi intlan pipiltotonti: yn tetlanoan itlacoiocco contlaça in quimjchin, anoçe inpilhoan, quimjlhuja: ytlacoiocco xictlali in quimjchin: iehica quil intlacamo iuh quichioazque, amo vel ixoaz in jtlan piltontli: çan tlancotoctic iez.

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These superstitions harm the Faith, and therefore it is well to recognize them. Only these few have

Estas abusiones, empecen a la fe: y por eso, conujene sabellas, y predicar, contra ellas. Anse puesto, 000